TABLE OF DATES

	Approximate date
Asoka	250 B.C.
Kanishka	A.D. 100
Mihirakula	A.D. 500
Pravarasena	A.D. 600
Lalitaditya	A.D. 750
Avantivarman	A.D. 850
Rainchan Shah	A.D. 1300
Sikandar	A.D. 1400
Jain-ul-abdin	A.D. 1450
Akbar	A.D. 1600
Azim Khan	A.D. 1800
Gulab Singh	A.D. 1850

HISTORY OF KASHMIR

IN whatsoever country of the world he may be the visitor must lose much of interest unless he has some acquaintance however slight with the history of the country.

Especially is this the case with Kashmir; because not only is there so much of interest in the country, but its secluded and protected position in the heart of the mountains has until recent times prevented admixture of blood, or forcible interference from outside with its institutions.

At the same time, owing to the inestimable work of Sir Aurel Stein in rescuing from oblivion and in translating and commenting on Kalhana's great historical work the *Rajatarangini*, the former history is less shrouded in impenetrable darkness than is usually the case in the history of ancient India.

We are therefore able to study the social structure and political and religious institutions of Hinduism in ancient times almost as if they had been placed in a show case for that particular purpose. I have therefore collected and set down a few of the salient facts in the history of the country sufficient perhaps to stimulate a desire to read the original authorities, and at any rate to add the interest of historical associations to what would otherwise merely be an inspection of architectural remains.

It is worth bearing in mind that a large temple usually indicates the former existence of a large town and often of a Capital, the houses of which have totally disappeared owing to the perishable nature of the materials used in their construction.

In travelling whether by road or river it is only too easy to pass places of interest unknowingly. No apology is therefore required for calling attention to various places of interest along the main river and road routes from Baramula to Islamabad.

Baramula the ancient Varahamula. This place enjoyed great sanctity in early times as the dwelling place of Vishnu in his Primeval Boar incarnation; and there was an ancient temple of Vishnu Adi Varaha which was destroyed by Sikandar the iconoclast. One of the ancient roads out of Kashmir passed through Baramula down the right bank of the Jhelum to Muzafarabad (near Domel) and thence over the mountains in the direction of Abbotabad. A short distance below Baramula was the old watch station. Through this gate the famous Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang entered Kashmir in 631 A.D. In old days Baramula was less important than Huskapura, the modern Uskur on the opposite side of the river. This place was founded by the Kusan King Huska who succeeded the famous Kanishka. Huskapura is also connected with King Lalitaditya Muktapida. Before leaving Baramula it should be borne in mind that the modern dredging operations were anticipated by Avantivarman's engineer Suyya, who began proceedings by removing rocks which had fallen from the mountains on both sides into the river. Having thus obtained a reduction in the water level he was able to put up a temporary dam which held up sufficiently long to enable him to dress the bottom and revet the sides of the river where necessary. Scoffers at the beginning said that Suyya was throwing money into the river, which shows a point of view which even in later days has robbed many a fine engineering work of its success.

Suyya's name is borne by Sopor, or Suyyapur, which previous to his operations had formed part of the Wular Lake.

Sumbal

About one mile from the bridge over the Jhelum on the left bank is Andarkoth, the former capital of Jayapida the grandson of Lalitaditya. Kuta Rani, the last Hindu queen of Kashmir, committed suicide here (A.D. 1339).

On the other bank of the river is a beautiful little lake called Manasbal. It derives its name from the sacred lake on mount Kailasa usually located at Mansarowar in Tibet. It is the deepest lake in Kashmir. There is on it the ruin of an

old Moghul garden now called Darogha Bagh, and a half-submerged temple.

Shadipore—formerly Shahabuddinpur from a Sultan of that name (1354–1373). This is the site of the river draining work of Suyya, Avantivarman's engineer. From here Lalitaditya's capital, Parihasapura, is distant about 3 miles. It is also accessible by road from Srinagar. There are the foundations of temples and Buddhist edifices at Parihasapura.

Srinagar

The following places of historical interest are visible from the river.

4th Bridge, Zaina Kadal—called after Zain-ul-abdin. Zain-ul-abdin's tomb is quite close. The supposed Brahmi inscriptions close by are only mason's marks.

The mosque of Shah Hamadan is called after a saint who came from Hamadan in Persia towards the end of the fourteenth century and converted the greater part of the people to Islam.

The embankment from the Dalgate to the City is of extreme antiquity and probably dates from the foundation of the City about 1300 years ago.

The Takt-i-Sulaiman. This hill used to be called Gopadri whence the modern village of Gupkar. The temple on its summit was built about the eleventh or twelfth century A, D.

Pandrenthan. The site of Asoka's Srinagar. There is here a temple about 1000 years old.

Avantipur—half way to Islamabad—Capital of Avantivarman. In addition to the two excavated temples there are also several unexhumed structures.

Bijbehara. (Kashmiri **Vijibror**). A couple of miles below Bijbehara is a high and isolated karewa. It was once the site of one of the oldest and most famous temples of Kashmir ; but during the civil wars of King Sussala's time it was occupied by crowds of refugees and soldiers. The besiegers set fire to the wooden ramparts and a terrible holocaust ensued. Bijbehara gets its name from the temple of Siva Vijayesvara. The place has been sacred from great antiquity and has always been a place of considerable import-

ance. A bridge over the Jhelum was in existence here in the twelfth century.

There is on each bank of the river a fine grove of chenar trees, the remains of a garden planted by the unfortunate prince Darashikoh, who was killed by his brother Aurangzeb. The two portions of the garden were once joined by a bridge.

Islamabad

From this centre the cave temple of Bumzu, the sacred spring at Bawan, the temple of Martand and the Moghal gardens at Achibal and Verenag may be visited. The view from Martand on a fine morning in spring is one of the finest in the world.

On road between Srinagar and Baramula

Patan. The former capital of Samkaravarman. There are two temples here built by him.

Historical Sketch

Tradition lays down that the Valley of Kashmir was originally the seat of an immense lake called Satisaras i.e. the lake of Sati (Durga). In this lake resided a demon Jalodbhava who caused great distress to all living beings by his devastations. The divine sage Kasyapa heard of this from his son Nila the King of the Kashmir Nagas and proceeded to the seat of Brahman to implore the help of the gods against Jalodbhava. The whole host of gods went to the mountains of Kashmir for this purpose; and, as the demon was invincible in his own element and naturally refused to come out and fight at a disadvantage, it was necessary for the lake to be drained. This the brother of Vishnu Balabhadra effected with his ploughshare, whereupon Vishnu slew the demon. Geologists corroborate the story only so far as the existence of the lake.

The first really historical fact about Kashmir of which we have any knowledge is that the renowned Buddhist Emperor of India, Asoka, held it, and founded the capital town of Srinagar, the city of the sun, about twenty-two centuries ago.

Asoka's city was not on the site of the present city of Srinagar but two or three miles away further up the river. Some seven or eight hundred years after the foundation of Asoka's capital a new capital was founded on the site of the present city. This new city, though officially known as Pravarapura, became commonly known by the name of the old city, which, naturally, became in common parlance 'the old Capital', which has now been shortened down to Pandrenthan, which is about two miles from Srinagar on the road to Islamabad. This town was destroyed by fire about the end of the tenth century A.D. Only the old temple which then, as now, stood in water escaped the flames.

The next famous ruler of Kashmir was Kanishka the Kusan King of Gandhara, who ruled in the first half of the second century A.D., and who, according to Buddhist tradition, held in Kashmir the Church Council which fixed and

expounded the sacred canon. Kanishka's successor Huviska also ruled Kashmir and founded a town still called Uskur, two miles to the S. E. of Baramula, where Lalitaditya subsequently erected a Monastery and Stupa. It was probably in the time of these kings that the Greek influence, so evident in the architecture of the ancient temples, reached Kashmir.

After the Kusan Kings there was no really historical personage connected with Kashmir for nearly four hundred years when the infamous Mihirakula, the White Hun held the country in the beginning of the sixth century A.D. Kalhana describes him as a terrible enemy of mankind who had no pity for children, no compassion for women and no respect for the aged. He however supported the worship of Shiva. Kalhana is contemptuous of the Brahmans who accepted lands from him. At the end of this century came Pravarasena the second, who moved his capital to the present Srinagar. He was the first to build a bridge of boats across the Jhelum and probably made the embankment from the Dal Gate to the City which separates the Chenar Bagh from the Dal Lake.

Whether or no Pravarasena obtained miraculous assistance in deciding on the site of his capital as stated by Kalhana, the fact remains that though the great Kings Lalitaditya and Avantivarman, to say nothing of Jayapida and Samkaravarman, all built their own capitals elsewhere, none of them have been able permanently to displace Srinagar from its pride of place.

Hiuen Tsiang, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, is the next historical figure to flit across our stage. Out of the sixteen years which he spent in India, two, namely A.D. 631-633, were spent in Kashmir. He entered Kashmir by Baramula and spent the first night at Huskapura, which as before mentioned was founded by the Kusan King who succeeded Kanishka.

He stopped during the greater portion of his stay in Kashmir in Srinagar, at the Jayendra Monastery which had been erected by Pravarasena's uncle.

Early in the eighth century came a great ruler named Lalitaditya Muktapida. He was a great warrior and made wars in India and against the Tibetans and seems to have lost his life in some military expedition in the North. He built a

new capital containing magnificent temples at Parihasapura near Shadipore, and also the great temple of the sun at Martand. He also sent a mission to China of which mention is found in the Chinese annals. Though a Hindu he was sympathetic to Buddhism and built a Monastery and stupa at Huskapur previously mentioned, as well as a Monastery and a colossal image of Buddha at his capital. His minister seems to have been a Buddhist of Turkish race.

After Lalitaditya there is no ruler worthy of mention till Avantivarman, who ruled in the second half of the ninth century. This ruler appears to have devoted himself to the improvement of the state of his country and not to have exhausted his resources by unnecessary wars. He built a new Capital at Avantipur half way between Srinagar and Islamabad. This contained two magnificent temples the lower portions of which have recently been laid bare by excavations carried out by the Archæological Department.

But Avantivarman's chief title to fame is in the great engineering works carried out by him through his engineer Suyya. Though of low birth he appears to have had a marvellous aptitude for engineering. He first lowered the water level of the Jhelum by removing obstructions in the river bed below Baramula. He then altered the course of the river from Shadipore to the Wular Lake moving the confluence of the Jhelum and Sindh rivers about three miles north of its old position. He also made dykes and new channels where necessary and reclaimed a vast area of the Wular Lake and along the course of the Jhelum. On the land so reclaimed many new villages were built, the chief of which is Suyyapur (now Sopor) where the river leaves the Wular Lake. In addition to these works he introduced a proper system of irrigation into many parts. Kalhana records that the result of his operations was such that the price of rice was reduced from 200 dinnaras to 36 dinnaras per Kharwar.

After Avantivarman the hands that held the sceptre were weak and the land was torn by internal dissensions; but even so the attempted invasions of the redoubtable Mahmud of Ghazni were rolled back early in the eleventh century.

Although Islam during the next three centuries made notable progress in India proper it was not successful in

Kashmir till a Tartar irruption under Zulkadar Khan early in the fourteenth century. (Zulkadar Khan-Jonaraja, the earliest historian of Kashmir after Kalhana, does not, however make mention of Zulkadar Khan. He speaks of an invasion by Dulcha and Marco Polo, of another by the Mongol Nagodar, prior to the invasion of Rinchana). The corruption of morals and institutions at that time prevailing was surely leading to the break-up of Hindu rule, and adventurers were hovering round like vultures round a dying beast. Zulkadar Khan's invasion broke the resistance of the Hindu government. Though he only held the country for eight months and perished miserably with his army and captives in trying to cross one of the northern passes too late in the season, yet he committed great slaughter, depopulated the Valley, drained it of its resources and burnt a great portion of Srinagar.

The opportunity of the adventurers then came. There were then two in Kashmir, Rinchana Shah, the son of the King of Tibet who had quarrelled with his father, and Shah Mirza from Swat. Rinchana attempted to advance into Kashmir but was unable to do so until he had captured the fortress commanded by Ramachandra, the intrepid and patriotic feudal chieftain of the district of Lahara. Force having failed, he succeeded in winning it by ruse. Ramchandra was killed and Rinchana then married his wife Kotadevi (i. d. 18, 23.)

Finding apparently that his religion or want of religion was a disadvantage, and that the Hindu religion had no room for him, and seeing a Muhammadan fakir named Bulbul Shah at prayers, Rinchana determined on Islam. He took the name of Sadar-ud-din, built a great shrine for Bulbul Shah called the Bulbul Lankar, and died about 1325 A.D.

His widow Kotadevi then married the brother of the last Hindu King who reigned till his death in 1343 A.D. Then Shah Mirza, who had been the Commander-in-Chief for years, assumed the sovereignty and insisted on marrying the Rani, but she preferred death to dishonour and stabbed herself.

In the second half of the fourteenth century a saint named Mir Sayid Ali came from Hamadan in Persia, owing to which he was termed Shah Hamadan. He practically established

Islam in the country. The conspicuous mosque of Shah Hamadan between the third and fourth bridges was built in his memory.

The country being now principally Muhammadan and the temples largely denuded of worshippers, the time was ripe for the inevitable iconoclast who appeared very early in the fifteenth century in the person of Sikandar butshikan, who proceeded to destroy temples wholesale. Though such vandalism is much to be regretted from considerations of architecture it must be urged in extenuation that the building material was diverted from buildings then serving no useful purpose to build buildings both of a secular and religious nature which were actually required, and that Sikandar's sacrilegious acts had been exceeded by a Hindu ruler of Kashmir.

Of Harsa (latter half of the eleventh century) Kalhana notes that in order to get hold of the statues of the gods in addition to the temple treasuries he appointed an official styled 'prefect for the overthrow of divine images', and that of all the images in the temples in the City, towns or villages, only two escaped, namely the image of Ranasvamin in the City and Martand in a township. Before removing the images Harsa had them systematically defiled. Sikandar then proceeded to the forcible conversion of the remaining Hindus, offering them the alternatives of conversion, death or emigration. Many preferred the latter and emigrated.

Sikandar the iconoclast was however succeeded by a man of very different type, Sultan Zain-ul-abdin, a man of enlightened and tolerant views (1420–1470). He encouraged Sanskrit learning and the arts and allowed the emigrant Hindus to return. He built the first permanent bridge at Srinagar (the present fourth bridge or Zaina Kadal), completed the Juma Masjid and took active measures for the relief of famine in 1469. It is also said that he repaired the roof of the temple on the top of the Takht-i-sulaiman, although the present roof belongs to Dogra times. He constructed a considerable number of canals.

In 1532 Mirza Haider with his Moghals fought his way across the Zoji La Pass and held Kashmir for a time on behalf of the fugitive Emperor Humayun; but it was not till 1586 that Kashmir was finally incorporated in the Empire of

the Moghals. Akbar built the great wall round the foot of Hari Parbat hill ; and his successors Jehangir and Shah Jehan made Kashmir their regular summer residence and planted famous gardens on the Dal Lake.

When the Moghal Empire fell to pieces in the middle of the eighteenth century the Afghans held the unfortunate country.

A period of ferocity, oppression and devastation followed. In particular shias and brahmans suffered. Tying them up in pairs in sacks and drowning them in the Dal Lake, was a not unusual form of persecution.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the rise of the Sikh Power in the Punjab gave some hope of relief, and the oppressed people invited Ranjit Singh to their succour.

In 1819 the Sikhs conquered the Afghans and held Kashmir till the death of Ranjit Singh. The rule of the Sikhs was oppressive but a great improvement on that of the Afghans.

After the defeat of the Sikhs in the first Sikh war the British Government, in 1846, granted Kashmir with other territories to Raja Gulab Singh of Jummu, partly in order to detach him from the Sikh Power and partly to show that it was not actuated by lust for territory.

Maharaja Gulab Singh, the first of the Dogra rulers, was universally respected, but feared by his subjects and servants. He was a good friend of the British in the troublous times of 1857. During Dogra rule Kashmir has made giant strides towards prosperity.

Note on the Fabric of Society in Kashmir up to the middle of the twelfth century A.D. as depicted in Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*.

(The references are to the chapter and verse of the *Rajatarangini* in Stein's translation.)

Religion

Kashmir history begins with the reign of Asoka the great Buddhist Emperor. The country at that time was Buddhist, but Hindu worship seems to have gone on side by side with Buddhism, and there seems to have been a complete absence of real religious antipathy leading to persecution. Asoka's son Jalauka is said to have been a worshipper of Siva. Buddhism was still the state religion at the period of the Kusan Kings Huska, Juska and Kanishka, who ruled about the commencement of the Christian era. Subsequently the Hindu revival set in, and the temples founded then seem to have been mostly dedicated to Siva. Mihirakula, the terrible ruler of the White Huns, appears to have favoured the worship of Siva.

Afterwards Meghavahana who was brought in from Gandhara to rule (iii. 2) appears to have been a Buddhist. His son however worshipped Siva (iii. 99).

The first notice of any king who worshipped Vishnu is in connection with the foundation of the present city of Srinagar by Pravarasena (iii. 350). The minister of his successor founded monasteries and chaityas (iii. 380). The worship of Siva and Vishnu and the Buddhist cult seem to have gone on side by side for hundreds of years. In the time of the Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 631) Buddhism was tolerated but not popular. Lalitaditya who reigned about the beginning of the eighth century built several great temples of Vishnu including that at Martand, but also built a large monastery with a chaitya and large image of Buddha (iv. 200). His grandson Jayapida set up three images of

Buddha (iv. 507). He, moreover, oppressed brahmins owing to his fiscal exactions.

The great King Avantivarman built some great temples to Siva though secretly he was a worshipper of Vishnu ; a fact which he concealed from his prime minister, who was a worshipper of Siva, till about to die (v. 124). His grandson Samkarvarman built temples to Siva (v. 158).

It is to be noticed that the only images spared by the sacrilegious Harsha at the end of the eleventh century were images of Vishnu (vii. 1096) and two statues of Buddha (vii. 1098). Jayasimha (middle of the twelfth century) was an ardent worshipper of Siva (viii. 2391).

The number of temples built and of grants of land to, temples, brahmans, monasteries and the like was immense; and, unless there had been some counteracting influence, nearly the whole resources of the country would have been devoted to religious purposes; but there are numerous instances in which such grants were either diverted from their original purposes or resumed or confiscated, or in which the riches of the temples were plundered. (iv. 395, v. 52, v. 170, vi. 175, vii. 106, vii. 43, vii. 570, vii. 696, 1344, viii. 2756.)

There are indications that there must have been at times a very considerable number of persons who held atheistic ideas and were not afraid to show them. For instance Kalhana narrates how the King's cousin came to the King with a grievance against his own son, who wanted to oust him and was very vicious, and who with impious mind had given the names of certain Bhagavatas whom his father honoured to dogs, which he invested with the brahminical thread (vii. 252).

Again the wholesale spoliations of Harsa narrated by Kalhana (vii. 1090) would never have been possible had there been a really unanimous adverse public opinion. Kalhana narrates how the greedy-minded King Harsa plundered from all the temples the wonderful treasures which former kings had bestowed upon them, and that when the treasures had been carried off, he, in order to get hold of the statues of the gods, appointed Udayaraya 'prefect for the overthrow of divine images'. Before breaking up the images they were systematically polluted and desecrated. As a result, out of

all the images in the country only two, the images of Vishnu Ranasvamin in Srinagar, and of Martanda, escaped destruction. Two colossal statues of Buddha were also saved at the express request of court favourites (vii. 1081 to 1098).

Caste

At the time when Kashmir was held by Buddhist rulers, Asoka, Kanishka, Juska and Huska, it seems clear that caste could hardly have been recognized, especially as the last three were of Turuska (i.e. Mongolian) race (i. 170).

All through the early part of the period it would seem that caste distinctions, even if they existed at all, were very much less rigid than at present.

In the earlier books of the *Rajatarangini* there are very few references to caste. Asoka's son is said, after having conquered the world, to have settled all four castes in his own land (i. 117). In ii. 13 there is a punning comparison of the various castes (varna) in the land to the various colours (varna) of the rainbow.

Brahmans however seem to have existed as a distinct caste at a very early period, as we read (i. 342) that Gopaditiya interned brahmans who had eaten garlic or broken their rules of conduct. They were also exempt from capital punishment (iv. 96). A brahman is styled twice-born in the time of Lalitaditya's grandson (iv. 645).

It is not till the time of Chandrapida the brother of the great Lalitaditya (eighth century) that we begin to get more frequent references to caste. It is not however certain whether at that time caste or occupation is meant.

The great Lalitaditya's mother had been the wife of a foreign merchant before she was married to the King (iv. 37). A tanner who wished for an interview with the King about the compulsory aquisition of his hut for a temple doubted whether it was proper for him to come into the audience hall (iv. 62) and calls himself a pariah (iv. 76). Lalitaditya's Prime Minister was a Mongolian and a Buddhist (iv. 211). Kayasthas are first mentioned in the time of Jayapida, Lalitaditya's grandson (iv. 621); but it is clear that by kayastha

is meant any man who is a petty official as we see a brahman called a kayastha (viii. 2383). Again we see that of a certain low-born mean kayastha it is recorded that his proper hereditary occupation as a gardener had been to trade in night soil, act as a butcher and sell fuel, etc. (vii. 38).

Chandalas *i.e.* men of impure caste are first mentioned in Jayapida's time (iv. 475). They were watchmen (vi. 76) classed with doms as untouchable (vi. 192) and scavengers (v. 74). Their touch defiled (v. 77).

Vaishyas are first mentioned in the eleventh century. The son of a Vaisha who was watchman in a temple, ultimately became Prime Minister (vii. 207).

The engineer of King Avantivarman (ninth century) was a man of low birth ; at any rate he is represented as a foundling (v. 73).

The mother of King Cippata Jayapida (ninth century) was the daughter of a spirit-distiller (iv. 678), and a concubine. Her brother Utpala was the first of the kings of the Utpala dynasty. The illustrious Avantivarman was therefore descended from a spirit-distiller (viii. 3424, 3429). Jayamati who was King Uccala's chief queen (twelfth century) had been a dancing-girl and subsequently the concubine of the Governor Ananda (vii. 1460). On King Uccala's death she committed suttee, apparently under compulsion (viii. 363).

A dom woman was made the chief queen of Chakravarman (tenth century) (v. 389).

Later on the number of separate castes seems to have multiplied, as a Prime Minister of Jayasimha (twelfth century) treated sixty-four castes to excellent food at a sacrificial feast (viii. 2407).

Rajputs or kshattryas are not mentioned in the first three books of the *Rajatarangini*. When Jayapida the grandson of Lalitaditya was meeting with some knight-errant's adventures in the plains of India he gave himself out to be a rajput named Kallata and won a beautiful bride.

Neither rajputs nor kshattryas are again mentioned till the eleventh century, i.e. till after the union of the Kashmir and Lohara thrones. Lohara is not in Kashmir proper, being to the south of the Pir Panjal range, and its people are of a different race from the people of Kashmir.

The references to rajputs or kshattryas in the *Rajatarangini* give an impression that there were no rajputs in Kashmir till after the rise of the Lohara dynasty. In the eleventh century Kashmir sent an army to help the Hindu Sahi King Tirlokapala against Mahmud of Ghazni. In this army there were many rajaputras (vii. 48). In this campaign the Sahi kingdom was completely destroyed, and many of the leading men must have escaped and emigrated. At the end of the eleventh century we find four arrogant princes (rajaputra) of the Sahi family, favourites at the court of the Kashmir king (vii. 274). One of them Bijja behaved as a rajput should (vii. 325). There are mentioned rajaputras, horsemen, soldiers and petty chieftains (vii. 360) from which it may be inferred that the rajput was different from the others. Kalasa having got together an infantry force marched, accompanied with a band of rajaputras like Bijja (vii. 368).

King Harsa was deserted 'even by those rajaputras Anantapala and the rest who claim descent from the thirty-six families and who in their pride would not concede a higher position to the sun himself' (vii. 1617). One Somapala is mentioned as a rajputra from Campa which is a hill principality at the head of the Ravi (viii. 323). Nona a learned brahman who came in the way of some assassins, was murdered by them because they mistook him for a rajaputra on account of his appearance, which was like that of a foreigner (viii. 1328).

From the above references we may conclude that by rajaputras Kalhana always indicates men who were not Kashmiris by origin.

The word 'kshattrya' first appears as applied to King Harsa of Kashmir (eleventh century), who is addressed as the son of a kshattrya woman (vii. 661). Harsa's son Bhoja is also described as a kshattrya (vii. 1655). Harsa's mother was named Bappika, but we do not know from what family she came. At any rate Harsa's great grandfather was the first king of the Lohara dynasty which was not Kashmirian, and Harsa's father may very probably have married into a rajput family from India.

Another Bhoja a very distant relation (fifth cousin) of King Harsa, and whose father Salhana had once been

crowned king (viii. 376) is spoken of as born in a kshattrya family (viii. 3031). With reference to the Sahi dynasty it is recorded that 'to this day the appellation Sahi throws its lustre on a numberless host of kshattryas abroad who trace their origin to that royal family' (viii. 3230). Prince Sangiya was born from a race of kshattryas, who, owing to their native place being within the territory of the Turuskas, had found employment in Kashmir (viii. 3348). His grandfather Bhijja had done some famous patriotic service in fighting the musalmans (viii. 1190), and his father Lavaraja ruled in the Takka country which was, apparently, somewhere south of the Pir Panjal range (viii. 1091). Thus we find that all or nearly all the men referred to us kshattryas are of foreign origin.

After passing under review all the relevant references to caste the impression left in our minds is that in Kashmir from the beginning of historical period, or at any rate from a very early date, the brahmans were a distinct caste; that men whose hereditary occupation was of a dirty or unpleasant character became untouchable; but that the great mass of the population was not divided by any very rigid lines of demarcation into separate castes. The process of differentiation had evidently begun before Kalhana's time; but it never reached anything like the rigidity of the caste system as displayed in modern India.

For instance Bhima Sahi of Kabul, who must certainly be considered a rajput, married his daughter to Simharaja of Lohara. Their daughter Didda was married to Ksemagupta, King of Kashmir, though he was a man of low birth, his great grandfather having been a clerk (vi. 130).

Institutions of Government

We can gather some interesting details as to the Government. Up to Asoka's time there were seven main state officials the Judge, the Revenue Superintendent, the Treasurer, the Commander of the Army, the Envoy, the Priest and the Astrologer; but Asoka's successor established the traditional eighteen offices (i. 118). Lalitaditya appears to have placed five princes to supervise these officials (iv. 141);

but, as only one of these offices is ever again referred to, and as that office (Chief Chamberlain) was given to the queen as a polite attention (iv. 485), it may be assumed that the posts very rapidly degenerated into sinecures, and atrophied. There does not appear to have been any tendency for the important posts to become hereditary, as in some other parts of India; the probable reason being that prominent men were so frequently assassinated.

Kalhana says (viii. 2187) 'In truth, the service of kings is more dangerous than the raising of a vetala (demon), the leap over a precipice, the chewing of poison, or the fondling of a snake.'

There were regular law cases. Sometimes the king tried cases himself (vi. 14) (viii. 123). People dissatisfied with decisions in the law courts or with executive actions, used to go out on hunger-strike, just as in Japan such persons used to commit suicide.

The king kept regular spies or informers to give him all news of interest (v. 81 ; viii. 511). There was an officer to watch cases of hunger-striking (vi. 14 ; iv. 82), apparently because such indicated complaints of injustice.

Hunger-strikes were very serious matters indeed, as the sin of causing death was incurred by the unjust judge. Brahmans often did it; and apparently whole corporations of them did it simultaneously, and in public (viii. 939), and in the presence of images of the gods (iv. 99; viii. 900). Sometimes they completed the job by immolating themselves in the fire (viii. 658; viii. 2224 and 2225). Some hard-hearted kings did not worry over such trifles.

In one case a thief having died from an over-severe beating the kind-hearted minister resigned and went off on pilgrimage (vii. 602).

King Uccala hit on a novel method of keeping his judges honest. He took a vow that if any one killed himself by hunger-striking he would himself commit suicide (viii. 51).

The state of the country from the time of Samkarvarman onwards (tenth century) must have been such as to prevent any proper administration of justice except in a few intervals. The record of constant insurrection, treachery and assassination is depressing reading.

Deeds of sale were in writing (vi. 30); and were recorded by official recorders (vi. 38). On one occasion when the king detected a forgery by secretly sending for the merchant's account books, he acted with vigour, banishing the merchant and confiscating his property which he made over to the wronged party (vi. 41).

Merchants accepted deposits and charged interest on overdrafts; but sometimes did not relish paying interest on deposits, showing themselves in this way not unlike the bankers of the twentieth century (viii. 155).

One of the vexatious imposts mentioned is a fine levied on the head of a family in case of immoral conduct on the part of a married woman (viii. 3336).

Sanskrit learning seems generally to have flourished, and students were attracted also from the plains of India. The foundation of a math for students from Aryadesa is recorded (vi. 87). Doubtless students were taught by gurus just in the same way as at present.

There is no mention of any other system of education.

There is only one mention of a hospital (iii. 461), but this is in the earlier period when Buddhism still was an influence.

There were one or more city prefects, who in the time of a mean king amassed money themselves and made some of it over to the king (vi. 70); but who are recorded to have made some useful reforms (viii. 3335 and 3336).

Samkarvarman is said to have 'introduced the system of forced carriage of loads which is the harbinger of misery for the villages, and which is of thirteen kinds' (v. 174). Again in the twelfth century in a successful military campaign 'the wailing of the villagers who were oppressed by the forced carriage of loads served as a kind of expiatory oblation' (viii. 2513). Even members of the local purohita corporations had to resort to a solemn fast to get exemption from the forced carriage of loads (vii. 1088).

Samkarvarman is also said to have started the levy of contributions for the monthly pay of village clerks, represented probably by the patwari of the present day (v. 175).

The land revenue was collected in kind, and does not appear to have been fixed at any definite amount. Lalitaditya's grandson Jayapida 'went so far in cruelty that for

three years he took the whole harvest including the cultivator's share' (iv. 628).

In Lalitaditya's political testament he enjoins that great care should be taken that there should not be left with the villagers more food supply than required for one year's consumption, nor more oxen than wanted for the tillage of their fields (iv. 347).

Several kings have been recorded as particularly avaricious and as expert in robbing the people. Among them may be mentioned Lalitaditya's grandson who only desisted from confiscating brahman's grants after 99 brahmans had perished in the water of the Chandrbhaga, though even then he made no restoration (iv. 639), Harsa was another oppressor (vii. 1107).

There were, however, benevolent rulers who issued grain at cheap rates from the state granaries to relieve distress (viii. 61).

Finance

The finances of the country must often have been in a state of great disorder. We have seen how often religious grants were resumed and how often exactions were practised. There were apparently more regular methods of raising money. On one occasion when Lalitaditya was proceeding on a big campaign he took one crore from the shrine of Bhutesa, but, on return victorious, he presented eleven crores as an expiatory offering (iv. 189). At one period the use of cash in commercial transactions had fallen into abeyance through abuses, but a capable city prefect set matters straight (viii. 3335).

Tolls were levied on the bridges (viii. 136) and customs were collected at the fortified frontier posts. Goods which had paid customs were stamped with the king's name in red lead (viii. 2010).

Army

A standing army or rather a body-guard of infantry (Tantrins) is first mentioned at the beginning of the tenth

century (v. 248). They often made and unmade kings. The other elements of the army consisted of rajputs, mounted men who generally seem to have been men of importance like the knights in Europe, and the levies of the Damaras or petty chieftains.

One of the most important military appointments was that of Dwarapatti or warden of the marches. All the passes leading out of the country were fortified and these were jealously guarded. They were also useful as customs posts and for the scrutiny of travellers into or out of the country.

Lalitaditya's political testament throws much light on the condition of the ordinary folk and on the spirit of the government. It is either genuinely the testament of a great king, or, more probably, it represents the views of the historian as to the principles of government suitable to his time and to his country. It deserves quotation at some length.

IV. 345. 'Those who wish to be powerful in this land must always guard against internal dissension. Because of foreign enemies they are as little in fear as Cárvákas (materialists) of the world beyond.'

346. 'Those who dwell in the mountains difficult of access, should be punished, even if they give no offence; because, sheltered by their fastnesses, they are difficult to break up if they have once accumulated wealth.'

347. 'Every care should be taken that there should not be left with the villagers more food supply than required for one year's consumption, no more oxen than wanted for the tillage of their fields.'

348. 'Because if they should keep more wealth, they would become in a single year very formidable Damaras (petty chieftains) and strong enough to neglect the commands of the king.'

349–352. 'When once the villagers obtain clothes, women, woollen blankets, food, ornaments, houses, such as are fit for the town; when the kings in madness neglect the strong places which ought to be guarded; when their servants show want of determination; when the keep of the troops is raised from a single district; when the officials are closely drawn together by the bonds of intermarriage; when the

kings look into the offices as if they were clerks—then a change for the worse in the subjects' fortune may be known for certain.'

A policy such as this may have been necessary at the time to prevent worse disorders; but it is clear that it cannot have been popular with the great majority of the king's subjects, namely the villagers. In the subsequent history when the central authority of the king was much weakened the Damaras proved a very turbulent and troublesome element in the population; and we can hardly feel surprised that their general policy seems to have been to encourage insurrections and pretenders to the throne in order to prevent the king getting enough power to reduce them to helplessness and poverty.

Customs and habits

A certain amount of information is obtainable as to the customs and habits of the people.

There is no trace of the seclusion of women as practised in India in modern times.

Morality does not seem to have reached a very high standard. Kalhana constantly laments the frailty of women, but displays a naive unconsciousness that the moral standard of the men left much room for improvement. The story of the marriage of Lalitaditya's mother contains several points of interest (iv. 10-38). The king had been invited to the house of a rich merchant from the Rauhita country and he remained in his house as an honoured guest. There he saw Narendraprabha the beautiful wife of the merchant. The king fell in love with her and she returned his affection. The king returned to his palace and pined away and became very sick. He reflected that if the king were to take away the wives of his subjects there would be no one left to punish trespass of the law. The merchant however heard of the king's serious case and endeavoured to persuade the king to take the lady. He adduced various arguments such as that to save life anything was justifiable; that many other famous wise men had done the same, and that posthumous glory was of small value to a dead king; and, finally, he said that if the king was not convinced by these arguments he could take her

from a temple as a dancing-girl put there by him on account of her skill in dancing. Finally the king reluctantly accepted the lady. Kalhana evidently does not quite approve this conduct, as he says that she removed the levity of such conduct by noble works, and built the illustrious shrine of Narendresvara.

King Utkarsa's wife had also been a temple-dancing girl (vii. 858); and there is another reference to such girls in the time of Lalitaditya (iv. 269).

Suttee was quite common in the reigning family. The first case recorded which can be regarded as historical, is at the death of Samkaravarman (end of the ninth century) (v.226), when three queens and a courtier and two servants were burned. A sister committed suttee (viii. 448). Four women servants and a cook killed themselves on a queen's death (viii. 1223–1224).

A concubine committed suttee (vii. 858); a mother (vii. 1380); a daughter-in-law (vii. 103); a wife, three men and three female servants (vii. 481). Other cases of wives are narrated (vii. 724, 478, 1486 [ten women], 1579 [seventeen women]; vi. 107; viii. 445; viii. 1441).

There are two interesting cases. Didda, the widow of King Ksemagupta (tenth century), indicated to the Prime Minister that she wished to commit suttee, but this was only when she saw that the other wives were ready to immolate themselves. The Prime Minister out of malice gave a quick assent. The queen when confronted with the funeral pyre felt regret. Another minister Naravahana, moved to compassion, prevented her by persistent remonstrances from seeking death (vi. 196). In a somewhat similar case the widow's hesitation did not prevent her death. On King Uccala's death his queen 'the cunning Jayamati, who was eager to live, then gave her treasure to Garga in order to raise compassion in him, and spoke to him "Brother make an arrangement with me". He however, in his honest nature, took these words to be merely conventional, and prepared her funeral pyre. While she, proceeding in a litter, was delaying on the road, Bijjala got in front of her and entered the pyre. Then as she (Jayamati) was ascending the pyre her limbs were hurt by the pilferers who robbed her in

eager desire of her ornaments'. Reading between the lines of this account we may picture to ourselves a horrible occurrence (viii. 363-368). There is no instance recorded in which a brahman woman committed suttee, though there is the story of one who sought justice against her husband's murderer, and who gave her desire for revenge as the reason why she had not followed him; but she threatened to starve herself to death if she did not get revenge (iv. 98).

The practice of suttee seems to have been confined to those of royal birth. One case of a Damara's wife immolating herself is mentioned with approval by Kalhana (viii.2334); but she was herself of noble descent and did not cherish the customs of Damara widows who remarried even village officials and householders.

Drinking spirits was evidently not quite respectable among better class people; but must have been common among others, as we have seen that one king married the daughter of a spirit-distiller. Her brother founded a dynasty one of whose kings was Avantivarman. Again it is recorded of Somapala that the wretched khasa prince used to get drunk with liquors and otherwise behave as a rustic (viii. 1466). Lalitaditya got drunk (iv. 310). Other references are v. 206, vi. 10, vi. 150, vii. 285, viii. 868 (viii. 1866).

Cats and dogs were kept as pets. We have already seen how a vicious young man invested his dogs with the sacred thread. As for cats we see a charge in a merchant's account for 'mice and fish-juice to feed tenderly the kittens of a cat' (viii. 139). Again Rilhana had a monastery erected in honour of his deceased wife, but it was commonly called after the name of her cat which kept with her like a friend and starved herself to death when her mistress set off on her death pilgrimage (viii. 2413).

Famines are recorded. They were of course inevitable in a small country so isolated as Kashmir and in which internal commotions were so frequent.

There are several references to a dangerous and infectious disease called the luta disease which was evidently much dreaded, and a few references to fever.

The amusements of the people seem to have been exhibitions of singing and dancing, religious festivals and pilgrimages

(vii. 515). Kings sometimes went jackal-hunting; throwing spears were used (vi. 181).

Dogs and nets were also used. Doms were the netters (vi. 182). Falcons were kept (vii. 1046).

People used to bow to the new moon in the hope of getting new clothes. (viii. 798).

The art of gold plating on copper seems to have been introduced from the territory of the Turuskas (Musalmans) in the latter half of the eleventh century (vii. 529, viii. 3364).

The ancient temples of Kashmir

The Hindus probably required no temples for their worship in the period before the rise of Buddhism. The Buddhists used stone and brick in their religious edifices, and, with the revival of Hinduism, the Hindus began to build temples. In Kashmir a few Buddhist edifices have survived, Ushkar stupa belongs to the Kushan times and the Buddhist edifices of Parihasapura are contemporary with Martanda. There is a stupa and monastery at Pandrenthan which seem to be anterior to the time of Lalitaditya. The earliest Hindu temple to which a definite date can be assigned is the great temple of Vishnu Suriya or Martanda, which was built by Lalitaditya early in the eighth century A.D. The other temples which can be dated with certainty are the two temples at Avantipur which were built by Avantivarman in the second half of the ninth century, the two temples of Patan which were built shortly after by Samkaravarman, Avantivarman's son, and the temple at Pandrenthan which was built early in the tenth century.

All these temples are built in one style of architecture. There are also a number of other fine old temples in the same style but they cannot be dated with certainty.

There are a number of temples at Wangat, a temple at Buniyar near Rampur, a small temple at Payech, one near Manasbal and others on the island in the Wular Lake, at Narastan, Kother and Pahlgam and an interesting cave temple at Bhumju.

The Kashmir classical style is fundamentally different from any other style of Hindu architecture.

Sir Alexander Cunningham's description of it may be quoted.

'The architectural remains of Kashmir are perhaps the most remarkable of the existing monuments of India, as they exhibit undoubted traces of the influence of Grecian art. The Hindu temple is generally a sort of architectural pasty, a huge collection of ornamental fritters huddled together, either with or without keeping, while the Jain temple is usually a vast forest of pillars, made to look as unlike one another as possible by some paltry differences in their petty details. On the other hand the Kashmirian fanes are distinguished by the graceful elegance of their outlines, by the massive boldness of their parts, and by the happy propriety of their decorations.

They cannot, indeed, vie with the severe simplicity of the Parthenon nor with the luxuriant gracefulness of the monument of Lysicrates, but they possess great beauty, different indeed, yet quite their own.'

The characteristic features of the Kashmirian architecture are its lofty pyramidal roofs, its trefoiled doorways, covered by pyramidal pediments, and the great width of its inter-columniations.

The Grecian pediment is very low, and its roof exceedingly flat; the Kashmirian pediment, on the contrary is extremely lofty, and its roof high. The former is adapted for a sunny and almost rainless climate, while the latter is equally well suited to a rainy and snowy climate.

In the Kashmirian architecture the great width of the interval between the columns (which is constant) is perhaps the most characteristic feature of the order.

Indeed I have suspicion that the distinctive mark of the Kashmirian style was well known to the Greeks; for an inter-columniation of four diameters, an interval seldom, if ever, used by themselves, was called Araiostyle, a name which would appear to refer to the inter-columniation common among the Hindus or Eastern Aryas, the Areioi of Herodotus.

Now the interval between the Kashmirian pillars being always Araiostyle, I feel inclined to call the style of architecture used by the Aryas of Kashmir the Arian Order. This name it fully merits for it is as much a distinct order of architecture as any one of the more celebrated classic orders.

Like them it is subject to known rules, which confine the genius of its architects within certain limits. A Kashmirian pillar is indeed distinguished from all Indian pillars by having a base, a shaft, and a capital, and each, besides, bearing a certain proportion to the diameter. How unlike is this to the columnar vagaries of the Hindus, which are of all shapes and of all dimensions. A favourite Hindu pillar has the lower fourth of its height square, the next eight sided, the third sixteen sided, and the upper part round; another has a double capital with a low flat base, whilst a third has a shaft of only one-fourth of its height, the remaining three-fourths being all base and capital, and yet these three pillars may be neighbouring columns of the same temple.

Even at first sight, one is immediately struck by the strong resemblance which the Kashmirian columnades bear to the classical peristyle of Greece. This first impression is undoubtedly due to the distinct division of the pillars into the three members—base, shaft and capital, as well as to the fluting of the shafts. On further inspection the first impression is confirmed by the recognition that some of the principal mouldings are also peculiar to the Grecian orders, but more especially to the Doric. Thus the echinos, which is the leading feature of the Kashmirian capital, is also the chief feature of the Doric capital. A still closer examination reveals the fact that the width of the capital is subject exactly to the same rules as that of all the classical orders except the Corinthian.

Even the temples themselves, with their porches and pediments, remind one more of Greece than of India; and it is difficult to believe that a style of architecture which differs so much from all Indian examples, and which has so much in common with those of Greece, could have been indebted to chance alone for this striking resemblance.

Another striking resemblance between the Kashmirian architecture and that of the various Grecian orders is its stereotyped style, which during the long flourishing period of several centuries remained unchanged. In this respect it is so widely different from the ever-varying forms and plastic vagaries of the Hindu architecture, that it is impossible to conceive their evolution from a common origin. I feel convinced myself that several of the Kashmirian forms, and

many of the details, were borrowed from the temples of the Kabulian Greeks, while the arrangement of the interior and the relative proportions of the different parts, were of Hindu origin. Such in fact, must necessarily have been the case with imitations by Indian workmen, which would naturally have been engrafted upon the indigenous architecture. The general arrangement would therefore still remain Indian, while many of the details, and even some of the larger forms, might be of foreign origin.

As a whole, I think that the Kashmirian architecture, with its noble fluted pillars, its vast colonnades, its lofty pediments and its elegant trefoiled arches, is fully entitled to be classed as a distinct style.

I have therefore ventured to call it the 'Arian order', a name to which it has a double right; firstly, because it was the style of the Aryas, or Arians of Kashmir; and secondly, because its intercolumniations are always of four diameters, an interval which the Greeks called Araiostyle.

The larger temples at any rate stood in rectangular courtyards surrounded by a masonry or wooden wall. On more than one occasion troops or refugees took refuge in the courtyards of temples and defended themselves against attack. The famous temple of Chakradhara was thus utilized as a fort during the civil wars of King Sussala's reign. Unfortunately for the defenders the walls were made of wood to which the besiegers set fire. All the people in the courtyard were burnt to death. Similarly the temple of Vishnu at Avantipur stood a siege in the twelfth century. The wooden enclosure walls being perishable only those courtyard walls which were built of masonry still exist. They were generally plain outside though sometimes the front containing the entrance gate was, as at Avantipur, decorated with columns.

There were often subsidiary shrines inside the courtyard. Sir Aurel Stein also found inside the courtyards of most temples large or small walled basins for the worship of Naga deities. The inside of the courtyard wall was decorated with colonnades. These consisted of a series of recesses arched in by the Kashmiri trefoil arch and faced on the front with a colonnade of pillars which carried a flat roof. The colonnade of the temple at Baniyar is a good example.

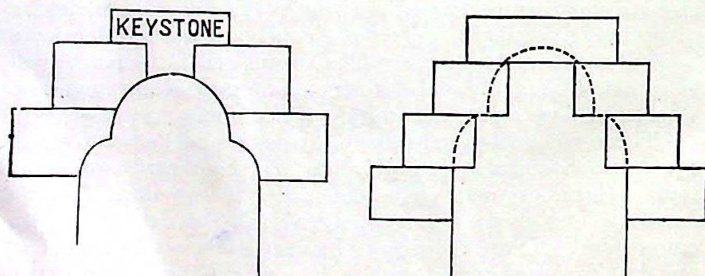
The combination of the trefoil arch with the Grecian colonnade is extremely effective and original.

The temples are generally built of a very fine blue limestone which stands the weather and the hand of time well; but, unfortunately, the Musalman iconoclasts not only used immense labour and patience in the physical overturning of the stones of the temples, but used fire to deface the carved surfaces, so that much fine carving and decorative details have been completely lost.

The masonry work of the temples is extraordinarily massive. The beautiful little temple of Payech is built of ten stones only. The whole roof consists of two stones, of which the lower stone measure 8 feet square by 4 feet high and contains therefore 250 cubic feet of stone.

It would be interesting to know by what means such heavy stones were lifted and accurately fixed in position.

The trefoil arch of Kashmir is very original and interesting. It is not a true arch, and differs a good deal in appearance from the gothic trefoil. The characteristic form of the Kashmiri trefoil appears to be due to the way in which it originated. To a people unacquainted with the principle of the arch the natural way of covering spaces between two perpendicular supports which are too far apart to be conveniently covered with a flat slab is to step out the perpendicular walls towards each other till the distance between the supports is sufficiently reduced to allow them to be covered with a slab.



This would give a doorway of a rather rude and unsatisfactory shape, as shown in the diagram. It is evident that a

very little shaping of the stones as shown by the dotted line will give the Kashmiri trefoil, a form which much improves the appearance of the doorway.

It is worth pointing out that the Kashmiri architects very nearly discovered the principle of the true arch, for in some of the larger trefoil arches the centre stone is a key-stone which prevents any displacement of the stone immediately below it. The arrangement adopted is shown in the diagram.

When once the trefoil arch and the Grecian pillars in front of it were combined the remaining features of the Kashmiri style appear to follow almost as a matter of course. If the pillars were required to support a pediment in front of the trefoil arch, the pediment had necessarily to be made very lofty to clear the trefoil. Similarly, unless the pillars were placed far apart, the width of the opening arched over with the trefoil arch would be unduly contracted.

If the trefoil arch originated in this way, it would at first only be applied to the larger spans, and only when the combination of the trefoil, pillars and pediments proved satisfactory to the aesthetic sense would the arch be applied to smaller spans which could easily be covered with a single stone.

The existence of colonnades of small trefoil arches round a temple would thus indicate that that temple was built at a time when the architectural style had already been fairly well developed.

The application of the forms of the trefoil pillars and pediments to the purpose of decoration of spaces of wall would be an indication of a further development of the style. The final stage in the development of the style is seen in the temple on the island in the Wular Lake, where the exterior of the temple is ornamented with arcades of trefoiled niches in two tiers. Applying these principles to the temple of Martand the application of the trefoil and pediment to wall decoration makes it clear that the style of architecture had very nearly or quite reached its full development when the temple of Martand was built.

That there is little or no decadent work in this style must be attributed to the disturbed state of the country after the

tenth century, which probably put an end to all possibility of the erection of great and costly buildings. What is more surprising is the fact that there seem to be in existence no buildings erected while the style of architecture was in the process of formation, and it seems possible that the style may have been developed elsewhere and imported ready-made, so to speak, into Kashmir.

In early periods Kashmir seems to have had much more connection with India and Gandhara than it had later on. It was included in the Empire of Asoka. Later on the Kusan Kings Kanishka and Huviska held it. Then again Mihirakula, the white hun, held it in the middle of the sixth century. Subsequently Meghavahana was called from Gandhara to reign over Kashmir. There were, therefore, ample opportunities for the importation of foreign ideas or even of a complete foreign style of architecture prior to the period of two centuries from the eighth to the tenth centuries when we know for certain that the Kashmiri classical style of architecture flourished in the land.

In considering the development of the style during two centuries it should be remembered, that, although the two temples at Patan were erected by Samkaravarman, it is quite possible that the actual stones of Lalitaditya's temples at Parihasapura may have been taken away by Samkaravarman and re-erected at Patan. Kalhana remarks rather sarcastically (*Rajatarangini*, Book v. 160). 'Poets and kings of these modern times augment their own work by plundering the poems or the property of others. Thus this ruler, who possessed but little character, had whatever was of value at Parihasapura carried off in order to raise the fame of his own city. Because what gave fame to that city was only what is still to be found at Pattana—the weaving of woollen cloths, purchase and sale of cattle, and the like.'

The suitability of this style of architecture to the facades of ordinary houses appears to have escaped the attention of modern builders. Probably a competent architect armed with the rules of the order and drawings of all the existing examples could turn out for the Sherghari Palace a facade more in keeping with the Kashmiri tradition than the present building.

Drawings might well be prepared showing what Martand and the other great temples probably were before the days of the iconoclast. With the known rules of the order and good examples in this stable style of almost every part of a temple it should be possible to make drawings which will reproduce with a comparatively small margin of error the wonderful erections of Lalitaditya and Avantivarman.

A complete set of photos of antiquarian remains is stocked in the office of the Superintendent of Archæology, Kashmir, from whom they can be purchased on giving an undertaking that they will not be published without his permission.

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